EQUAL RIGHTS

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LUCRETIA MOTT

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

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1848 - - 1948

By AMELIA HIMES WALKER

Chairman, International Relations Committee, National Woman's Party

A HUNDRED years ago, in 1848, a few courageous women in Seneca Falls, New York, wrote a Declaration of Independence for women, which marked the beginning of the organized movement for the freedom of women in this country, and in the world.

We are so busy nowadays that often we do not stop to think how it happens that we as women are now able to work in so many fields, not open to us a century ago—the professions, business, higher education, scientific research, exploration, government and politics, and all branches of the armed services.

Had we lived a hundred years ago, no matter how much money we had earned, nor how much we had inherited, it would not have belonged to us; that is, if we were married, for the earnings of married women belonged to their husbands.

Today, if a man takes his wife's money and property, the wife can sue and recover her possessions. This is the case today in most states, though there are a few in which the law still says that a wife's services and earnings actually *belong* to the husband.

A hundred years ago, a man could give away his children if he wanted to. His wife was not a *person* in the eyes of the law. This was the case in my own State of Maryland until a few years ago.

Only a short time ago it was almost impossible for a woman to earn any money. If she had a good education she could teach in a rural school, and if she could also play the piano and speak French, she might get a position as a governess in the city. Had she not been fortunate enough to receive an education, she might sit at home and sew. The finest sewing was done at starvation wages. For making a costly satin vest, an accomplished craftswoman was paid thirty cents. She usually worked for a man tailor, who received a substantial sum from the customer. For making a coat, he paid a woman forty cents; and for a pair of trousers, he paid her from twelve to thirty cents. No woman could refuse to accept starvation wages, because sewing was practically the only trade open to her. Moreover, women were not supposed to think or speak about their plight. They had to suffer in silence.

One hundred years ago a few women met in Seneca Falls, New York, and resolved to change the laws that men had made, which kept them in subjection. They called a convention of those interested in the social, religious and civil rights of women. Then and there they adopted a Declaration of Independence for women, and drafted the historic Resolutions to correct the evils that existed in the laws.

The next day the newspapers all over the country blazed with accounts of these "daring females" who had the temerity to declare that the laws should apply to men and women. They were called "preachers of such damnable doctrines and accursed heresies as would make demons of the pit shudder to hear." They were called "wantons" and "human hyenas," "anarchists," and "crowing hens." Editorials were written to hold them up to scorn. And all because they demanded that women be treated like human beings.

The leaders of this great Revolution were Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia and Elizabeth Cady Stanton of Seneca Falls, New York. Lucretia had five children and Elizabeth had seven, so they were busy mothers and housewives. Lucretia had taught school, so she knew the injustices which women teachers suffered from. For instance, they were paid but one-fourth as much as a man teacher was paid. The women could scarcely exist on what they were paid. Elizabeth,

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TEXT OF EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress and the several States shall have power, within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"This amendment shall take effect three years after the date of ratification."

"..zealous and untiring efforts...."

One likes to imagine the moment when Lucretia—or was it Elizabeth—took pencil in hand and firmly wrote the first RESOLVED. That was a moment in history for all of us.

The words which follow are formal, the phrases dignified. And yet their challenge rings clear today across a hundred years of time: Men and women are equal before God. They must be equal before the law.

If this anniversary issue makes us read the Seneca Falls Resolutions again, and realize anew the indomitable spirit of the women who started the movement for equality, it will have been worthwhile.

The twelfth resolution contains a present-day directive to every member of the National Woman's Party . . . ". . . the speedy success of our cause depends upon zealous and untiring efforts . . ." We all hope for the speedy success of our cause, but are our efforts as zealous and untiring as they might be?

We know it is not enough to tell each other our goal is near. It might be better to emphasize that there is tremendous work still to be done. The Seneca Falls ladies would have liked that better.

A. C.

The Status Of Women 1848 -- 1948

By BURNITA SHELTON MATTHEWS
Member of the District of Columbia Bar

The first Woman's Rights Convention, held in 1848, asked for woman the right to vote, to have personal freedom, to an education, to earn a living, to collect her wages, to own property, to make contracts, to bring suits, to testify in court, to secure a divorce for just cause, to possess her children, and to claim a fair share of the accumulations during marriage. Strange as it may seem today this demand was revolutionary in 1848. To be identified with it required a daring which few possessed.

In those days the legal existence of the married woman was suspended. As has been aptly said, the husband and wife were one, and he was the one. Marriage endowed him with the absolute title to her personal property and the control of and income from her real estate. She was incapable of entering into a contract. Her earnings belonged to him. He was the sole guardian of the children and might will them away from her. All of the disabilities imposed upon her were said to be for her protection "so great a favorite is the female sex of the laws."

The single woman was barred from institutions of higher learning, and the professions were closed to her. She was permitted to teach but not at the salary paid men. About the only other career open to her was marriage.

The century following the 1848 Convention has brought a great advance toward equal rights for woman. This advance was not an accident. It did not spring into being suddenly. The progress has come because generations of courageous women have been willing to face tremendous opposition to work for equality for woman in every walk of life. The 1848 demand has not been satisfied but repeated concessions have been made to it, thus enlarging woman's rights. Each step of progress has been hotly contested. Each has been won only after extraordinary effort.

What are a few of the milestones in the century of woman's progress? The right to vote was completely won in 1920 after innumerable municipal, state and national campaigns over a period of seventy-two years. Women serve on juries in more than two-thirds of the states, having somehow overcome the "defect of sex" which barred them at common law. The professions have been opened to women and they are engaged in most of the occupations listed in the census. Married women are permitted to own property in their own right and many of the disabilities imposed upon them because of marriage have been removed or modified. A few states have adopted laws designed to recognize the wife as a sort of partner in the property accumulations during marriage. To an extent there has been a repudiation of the doctrine of Grotius that the father is entitled to superior rights "on account of the excellence of his sex." The parents are now joint guardians of their children in most states.

Despite the progress which has been made, special restrictions on women still exist. They are of three kinds—relics of the common law theory of the subjection of women, discriminations against women in statutes passed by congress and the state legislatures, and restraints imposed upon women by custom. The carrying forward of work for the elimination of these restrictions is a continuation of the century old battle for woman's rights—a struggle destined to be long remembered as an epic of human liberty.

Resolutions Adopted At Seneca Falls Convention July 19-20, 1848

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights that they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity or both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her presence on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to women an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

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whose father was a lawyer, knew the law better than most men—especially the antiquated old common law that put women in the same class with children, idiots and slaves.

Besides these two leaders, there were sixty-eight women and thirty-two men who signed the famous Resolutions adopted at Seneca Falls in 1848. The names of the undaunted leaders of that day will be remembered forever.

One of the far-sighted resolutions demanded that women be given the ballot. That seems a natural enough procedure now. But it was not until seventy-two years later—seventy-two years of steady struggle on the part of a few brilliant, self-sacrificing women—that the franchise was granted to women, in 1920.

There are still about a thousand laws scattered through the statute books of the forty-eight states that discriminate against women. But all these will be changed when Congress passes the Equal Rights Amendment, which will make the laws in every state apply alike to men and women. This Amendment is known as the Lucretia Mott Amendment, named after Lucretia Mott, mother of the movement for equality of rights for women.

Women today owe every right we have in large measure to the dauntless courage of those leaders who conceived and wrote the Women's Declaration of Independence a hundred years ago.

Woman As Light Bringer

By MARY BURT MESSER

The prime difficulty in the world of now, and also its great opportunity, lies in the fact that it has gone as far as it can as a lop-sided masculine world, with its emphasis on the importance of the masculine attributes; even the body of women lining up largely with this point of view. What is needed is something beyond the struggle for the rights of women. What is needed is the expression of what *woman has to give,* in her own right.

Woman, with her own vision and in her own right, and as herself, needs to be consulted. Not primarily for herself, but for the sake of the world — as a restorer of equilibrium, as the light-bringer in this crucial hour.

This is the hour of society's coming to itself as a balanced order. This being the characteristic of the hour, the not-feasible, in the earlier sense—in the conventional masculine sense — becomes the feasible. Moves in this direction go through with surprising ease. I have always thought that this was particularly noticeable in our work for equality for women at the United Nations.

Now it is necessary to move from working *for woman* to working *for the balanced whole.* The earlier movement was and continues to be the prelude.

Equal Rights In The Western Hemisphere

By JANE NORMAN SMITH

Member of the National Council, National Woman's Party, and former National Chairman

IT is heartening to look back over a period of twenty years and to realize how, step by step, an ideal which seemed Utopian at the time it was conceived, now, through the efforts of feminists of the Western Hemisphere, has become a reality. The first step was taken by the National Woman's Party at the Sixth International Conference of American States, which opened in Havana on January 16, 1928. There, for the first time in history, women spoke before an international body of men in behalf of a treaty proposed by women on behalf of women—a treaty drawn by Alice Paul and designed to wipe out all inequalities between men and women in the laws of the nations adhering to it. The recent Pan American Conference held in Bogota in the spring of 1948 brought about the fulfillment of that ideal.

In 1923, delegates of Guatemala and Costa Rica offered a resolution at the Fifth Pan American Conference requesting the inclusion in programs of future Conferences of the question of the rights of women. A lengthy resolution offered by Mr. Rivas Vicuña, the secretary general, and unanimously passed, included a recommendation for "study of the means of abolishing the constitutional and legal incapacities of women * * * for the purpose of securing the same civil and political rights for women that are today enjoyed by men * * *." A further recommendation was made to the Governments that women be included on the delegation, in order that they might be able to participate in the work of future Conferences.

Subsequently, when an International Commission of Jurists met in 1927 to prepare a draft of a plan for a "General Convention of Private International Law" for submission to the Sixth Pan American Conference, 53 Articles on the status of women included legislative measures for extending to women the same civil rights as those enjoyed by adult males and legislation designed to prevent the loss of nationality by a woman because of marriage.

As the date of the Sixth Pan American Conference approached, it was evident that there were to be no women delegates and that boundary lines and other issues were likely to crowd out consideration of the status of women. So, after a visit to the Pan American Union, the National Council of the National Woman's Party decided to send a group of its members to the Havana Conference to keep the subject of Equal Rights for women in the foreground and to launch the Equal Rights Treaty. The members of the group were Jane Norman Smith, Chairman of the National Council of the National Woman's Party; Miss Doris Stevens, then Chairman of its International Relations Committee; Mrs. Valentine Winters, Chairman of its Ohio Branch, and Muna Lee, of the University of Puerto Rico.

Isabel MacDermott, editor of *Pan American Union*, in speaking of the work of the National Woman's Party at the Havana Conference, said: "A number of groups thought it was a good time and a good place to discuss the status of women. They came to the Pan American Union and gently suggested that it might be a very good thing to bring the civil and political status of women before the Conference for action. They were gently but very firmly informed that it was a very good thing but that this was not the time or the place to bring up such a question. But one group made up their minds that it was the time. They went, and presently the thing that was impossible was coming to pass."

Miss Paul questioned the prevailing opinion of some international jurists who declared that the rights of women belonged under private international law and therefore could not be made the subject of a treaty. She had studied the opinions of other distinguished jurists which cited the gradual broadening of public international law to include subjects not theretofore included. These opinions she gave to members of the group to study. No sooner had we arrived in Havana and called upon Dr. Antonio Sanches de Bustamante, distinguished international jurist and President of the Conference, than this question arose. Dr. Bustamante was gracious and cordial but was firmly convinced that the rights of women came under private international law and were not a subject for treaty action.

National Woman's Party headquarters were opened at the Hotel Sevilla-Biltmore, where its banners waved during the entire length of the Conference. Contacts were made at once with all of the important women's organizations and clubs, as well as with individual women of prominence. There was a wonderful response. They called meeting after meeting in honor of the National Woman's Party group, where ringing resolutions calling upon the Conference to recommend adoption of the Equal Rights Treaty were passed. Muna Lee spoke Spanish fluently and soon was surrounded by a lively committee of twenty or more Cuban feminists, who worked with her at the University day after day interviewing delegates from all of the 21 Republics. They talked of the Treaty and since there were no women delegates to speak for it, asked that women be given a hearing at a full plenary session. The Baltimore Sun of January 23, 1928, said: "The task that these women have undertaken is nothing less than inducing the Conference to reject the entire code of laws relating to women that its President, Dr. Bustamante, one of the best-known authorities on international law and member of the World Court, has been preparing ever since the previous Conference five years ago."

Muna Lee, assisted enthusiastically by Cuban feminists, worked with press representatives from Central and South America and played no small part in making the Equal Rights campaign interesting and colorful, in contrast to an otherwise dull Conference. As action gained momentum, it was conceded by Conference delegates that a hearing would be granted.

On February 7, 1928, more than 1,000 men and women crowded the galleries, stairways and even the Conference floor of the University of Havana Great Hall, to hear speeches made by the National Chairman, Chairman of International Relations, as well as by Señora Maria Montalvo de Soto Navarro, President of the National Federation of Women's Clubs of Cuba, Dr. Julia Martinez, often called "the Jane Addams of Cuba," Angela Mariana Zalbidar, Cuban lawyer, and Señora Plintha Wos y Gil, brilliant daughter of a former President of the Dominican Republic, and Pilar Jorge de Tella, a representative of working women. During the entire two and one-half hours of

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Convention Of National Woman's Party April 1, 2, 3, 1949 -- Washington, D. C.

CALL TO THE CONVENTION

The Officers and Council of the National Woman's Party hereby give notice that the National Convention of the organization will be held in Washington, D. C., Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 1, 2 and 3, 1949.

This Call is being sent out just before the opening of the 81st Congress. We are happy to announce that Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa, whose splendid championship of the Equal Rights Amendment in the 78th Congress is remembered with gratitude, and Representative Katharine St. George of New York, Chief Sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment in the 80th Congress, will be active in the campaign for the Amendment in the 81st Congress.

We approach the new Congress encouraged by the course of events for women in the world and at home in the past year. In January, 1948, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women adopted a report giving unqualified support to the principle of equality of rights for women. This Spring the Republics of the Western Hemisphere adopted, for the first time in history, treaties on equal rights for women. Two Equal Rights treaties were signed at Bogotá, Colombia, whereby all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere undertook to establish political equality for women, and all except the United States undertook to establish equal civil rights for women.

The International Bill of Rights adopted in December, 1948, by the Assembly of the United Nations at Paris declares that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as . . . sex." Thus the first International Bill of Rights ever drawn up and adopted by an international organization of Governments calls for equality of rights for women in the clearest and most forthright terms.

In our country, fresh interest in the Equal Rights Amendment has come from the unanimous and enthusiastic endorsement of the Amendment by the political conventions of both major Parties this past summer. The Democratic and Republican Parties through their National Conventions in almost identical words recommended to Congress the submission of the Equal Rights Amendment. At the Democratic Convention, where Harry S. Truman, who has stated his support of the Amendment in unequivocal terms, was nominated for the Presidency, the work for the Equal Rights plank was conducted by women leaders of the Party. At the Republican Convention, Republican National Committeewomen made clear to their Party leaders that they regarded support of the Amendment as essential. For the first time the women of both political parties have taken the leadership in the effort to secure the passage of the Amendment.

Let us all resolve to do our utmost to ensure the adoption of the Amendment by Congress before July, 1949—the end of the 100th Anniversary year of the first Equal Rights meeting at Seneca Falls in July, 1848.

You are asked to meet with us April 1, 2, 3, 1949, in the Capital City, while Congress is in session, to take whatever steps are necessary in the campaign for Equal Rights for Women.

(Signed)

ANITA POLLITZER, S. C.
National Chairman

MARIE MOORE FORREST, D. C.
Third Vice Chairman

CLARA SNELL WOLFE, Ohio
First Vice Chairman

MABEL E. GRISWOLD, Wis.
Secretary

MARGARET C. WILLIAMS, Conn.
Second Vice Chairman

GLADYS HOUSTON GREINER, Md.
Treasurer

AGNES E. WELLS, Mich.
Honorary Convention Chairman

EMMA GUFFEY MILLER, Pa.
Convention Chairman

Revision Of By-Laws

The report by the Committee on revision of the By-Laws has already been mailed to State Chairmen, National Officers, Council Members, Committee Members, Life Members, Founders, and others entitled to attend the Convention. A simplified form of the proposed new By-Laws, as contained in the report already circulated from the By-Laws Committee, will be submitted to the Convention.

Convention Notes

For all information about the Convention write to Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Convention Chairman, c/o National Woman's Party, 144 B Street, Northeast, Washington 2, D. C.

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Registration will begin at 10:00 a. m. on Friday, April 1—at National Headquarters and continue all day and Saturday morning. Business sessions will be held at the National Headquarters.

●

The Officers, State Chairmen and Committee Chairmen are asked to come prepared to give reports on their work and to send an advance copy of the reports to the Convention Chairman by March 15.

●

Rooms for a limited number of delegates will be available at the National Headquarters and in the homes of Washington, Virginia and Maryland members. We will try to secure hospitality for you if you will let us hear from you promptly.

If you plan to stay at a hotel we wish to remind you that the date of the Convention is in the Cherry Blossom season and hotel reservations should be made promptly.

●

The District of Columbia, Maryland and Virginia Branches will act as Hostesses to the Convention.

MABEL VAN DYKE BAER
Chairman, D. C. Branch

ALICE KACHADOURIAN
Chairman, Maryland Branch

CECIL NORTON BROY,
Chairman, Virginia Branch

Convention Headquarters, Alva Belmont House, 144 B. Street, N.E., Washington, D. C.

The World Declaration Of Rights

By VIRGINIA STARR FREEDOM

Representative of the World Woman's Party, as Observer, at meetings of The Human Rights Commission

A LONG vigil is ending.

Before the Magna Carta was signed, only kings had rights.

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted in 1789, the free men of the United States—but not the free women—stood equal before the law.

No woman sat in our Constitutional Convention of 1789. At law, a woman was not a "person"—and hence could contribute nothing but her silent thoughts to the work of the law-makers.

On December 10, 1948, almost 160 years later, there were seven women who sat as delegates or alternates in the General Assembly of the United Nations that adopted the International Bill of Rights. One woman sat as head of her delegation. A woman presided over the United Nations Commission that wrote this first World Declaration of Human Rights. A woman was vice-chairman of the Assembly Committee that received the report from the Human Rights Commission and hammered it into shape for the Assembly.

The Preamble to the Declaration of Rights as adopted by the Assembly contains the following words:

> "Whereas, the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the *equal rights of men and women* and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,"

Article 2 of the Declaration reads:

> "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedom set forth in this declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, *sex*, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status."

The vision of the small band of pioneers at Seneca Falls, New York, only a short 100 years ago, in July, 1848, is a reality in the thoughts of all mankind, with the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the World Declaration of Rights by a vote of 40 to 0. For the first time in history we have a Bill of Rights for the world, and this Bill of Rights calls for equality for women as clearly and forthrightly as did the famous Seneca Falls Resolutions of 1848.

History often only portrays the blazing highlights of a great event. The fine details, the shading, the shadows—the great lives whose moral forces have contributed to the full composition are obscured. Perspective is focused upon the momentary actors upon the world stage.

The true student of history looks beyond the glare and the trappings. At London, when the Status of Women Commission of the United Nations was originated; at Hunter College in 1946, at Lake Success and at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947 and 1948, when the Human Rights Commission held its various sittings; and finally at the Paris Assembly in 1948, members of the World Woman's Party and the National Woman's Party labored constantly—and effectively—to ensure that the shackles of custom and tradition would be stricken from the valiant figure of world womanhood.

Let me describe to you a scene at Lake Success in the early days of the drafting of the Declaration of Rights. The drafting committee of the Human Rights Commission was meeting. At the right end of a long, low-ceilinged room, illumined by concealed lights, there is a table in the form of a semi-circle. Rows of chairs, arranged in an oval, are filled with ever-changing spectators—representatives of clubs, legal, medical, and social service groups—women's groups, labor organizations. All of these people have come to witness the deliberations of the Commission.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, delegate of the United States, presides. Around the circle are Dr. Rene Cassin for France, Colonel Hodgson for Australia, Dr. Herman de Santa Cruz for Chile, Dr. C. P. Chang for China, Mrs. Roosevelt, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, Rapporteur for the Commission, Dr. Vladimir Koretsky of the Soviet Union, and Lord Dukesston for the United Kingdom. Dr. Malik has been an ardent champion of equality throughout the United Nations sessions, an untiring and sincere friend to those who have sought to raise the status of women.

Hours pass. Days pass. The debate continues, as the ideologies, the traditions of the world's greatest nations are hammered into shape, molded, refined, and fitted into the framework of the proposed World Declaration of Human Rights. Clashing viewpoints are composed in the long hours of weary days. The spirits of the great law-givers must be there—Hammurabi, Moses, Solon, Justinian, Draco, Diocletian—and those who saw beyond the iron framework of Lex Romana, and Lex Germanica—St. Paul, St. Catharine of Alexandria, the English barons, the American constitutionalists, the French Republicans, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Emmeline Pankhurst, and the great American women who have worked to carry on the work of feminine emancipation.

And now, on that December night in 1948, the cherished goal is in sight. Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, of Australia, President of the General Assembly, says that the "Declaration gradually will terminate political differences" in the world. It is an historic moment in the United Nations' fight for world peace, as well as in the history of the Woman Movement.

From the beginning to the conclusion of the Paris Assembly which has just ended, Alice Morgan Wright, of Albany, New York, was in constant attendance as a representative of the World Woman's Party and was unceasing in her effort to keep the equality ideal ever before the delegates in their consideration of the Declaration of Rights. Working with her was Mrs. Jessie Street, of Australia, Vice-Chairman of the World Woman's Party. We cannot express too warmly our gratitude for their untiring watchfulness over the interests of women at the Assembly.

The Declaration of Rights must be followed by a World Covenant on Human Rights. This is to be written prior to September, 1949, when the General Assembly is expected to vote on the Covenant, which the signatory nations must enforce.

The light that gleamed from the Palais de Chaillot on this December night of destiny, when the first World Bill of Rights was signed by a majority of the nations of the United Nations, reminds one of the light that streamed from the star upon the manger at Bethlehem that night nearly two thousand years ago, when the Hope of the world was born. One may hope that the message from Paris, the City of Light—of equal justice under law for everyone, regardless of race, sex, creed or religion—may be symbolic of the coming fulfillment of the hopes of all mankind.

Now Is The Hour For Victory

By EMMA GUFFEY MILLER

National Democratic Committeewoman and Chairman Congressional Committee, National Woman's Party

ONCE more the Democratic Party, the historic party of the rights of all the people, has come into its traditional role of champion of those rights in both the legislative and executive branches of our government. It takes its place in today's great drama under a banner of civil rights. It has spoken out boldly for those civil rights to be protected and extended in the case of the negro minority of this nation. But today there is already in existence, through the 14th Amendment, a constitutional guarantee against discrimination on the ground of race. There is no such constitutional guarantee against discrimination on the ground of sex, owing to court interpretations given to the 14th Amendment, and therefore we must have a new Amendment guaranteeing civil rights for women.

The Democratic Party assumes its leadership of this nation fully aware of this lack in our fundamental law. It has long realized that, except for the ballot, men and women of these United States are not equally citizens. In the 79th Congress, a Democratic Congress, the Equal Rights Amendment came to an actual vote in the Senate. It gained a simple majority, but not the necessary two-thirds. Now, in the 81st Congress, is the hour for final victory for complete equality.

The women of America can never forget that it was a Democratic administration that took the first great step forward in the emancipation of women. President Woodrow Wilson personally stood before the Senate of the United States and pleaded with them to pass the suffrage amendment. This nation could not engage in a war to make the world safe for democracy, he told them, a war to bring democracy to the other nations of the world, while here at home we still refused to give the right to vote to one-half of our own people.

That was a dramatic moment. It was one of those high moments of history, when human progress leaps forward. His plea was successful. Congress passed the suffrage amendment. Then it was up to the individual states to ratify it. That meant another struggle. But history was on our side.

Again the great Democrat who was our President stepped into the breach. He went to Senator McKellar, a Democrat from Tennessee. Ratification by one more state was necessary before the suffrage amendment could become law. President Wilson asked this Democratic Senator to have a special session of the Tennessee legislature called so that the ratification of the Amendment would be completed. It was done with the aid of another great Democrat, Cordell Hull, and American women stepped out of the ranks of "criminals, idiots and children" to become voters.

With the opening of the 81st Congress, the Democratic Party has another opportunity to play a great and historic role in the long struggle to emancipate women. Never has the Equal Rights Amendment counted so many friends. Our President, Harry S. Truman, has long been on record in its favor. Vice-President-elect Barkley is pledged to support it, as are National Democratic Chairman Senator J. Howard McGrath, and Illinois' Scott Lucas, who is expected to lead the majority party in the Senate. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, another of the Senate's great Democrats, has long been a stalwart fighter for the measure, and Guy Gillette, also a Democrat, who returns to the Senate from Iowa, is another of its champions. The list is long and illustrious. In the House, we are fortunate to have John McCormack of Massachusetts, the coming House leader, as a staunch friend. In the House we can count more friends than ever before, as we can in the Senate.

Heretofore the Equal Rights Amendment has had the opposition of the Department of Labor. One of the great gains of the past year for the Amendment was the appointment of Maurice Tobin to the position of Secretary of Labor. He gave his full support to the Amendment while still Governor of Massachusetts. He is still with us, still squarely on our side. He adds imposing strength to our cause.

It is a matter of record that the Republican Party had made plans to put the Equal Rights Amendment through as the first order of business in the 81st Congress. In the 80th, it was on the calendar of the last hectic day, but in the rush, did not get to the floor. November 2nd changed plans for the organization of Congress. But the Democratic Party will not fail to meet the challenge. It is now a matter of pride to live up to its great role in the past, to carry out its platform of today.

We are not deluding ourselves, either as women, or as Democrats. There is work ahead, just as there would have been work ahead had the Republicans organized Congress. But we can do it. We shall strive to bring the Amendment up early in the session. Then there will follow the battle in the states. But there are no insurmountable obstacles. As a great magazine recently put it, "the women are on the march."

When we look back to 1944 we see what great strides have been taken. At the Democratic Convention of that year, there were very few Democratic committeewomen pledged to support the Equal Rights Amendment, although a number of women members on the Platform Committee were favorable. With their help and that of a number of men, we succeeded in getting an endorsement of the Amendment into the Platform. In the Convention this year practically every Democratic committeewoman was pledged to support equal rights before the Convention opened. (I understand the same is true of Republican committeewomen.) An endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment was put in the Platform without a single dissenting vote. That indeed is progress.

So, as women and as Democrats, we feel a great exhilaration on this eve of the opening of Congress. We know we must work, but we work with the goal in sight. We are on the march, yes; but we are marching with victory more certain, more imminent than ever in our history.

From ARTICLE IX: *Constitution and By-Laws, National Woman's Party*

"The voting body at the National Convention shall consist of the members of the National Council, Chairmen of State Organizations belonging to this organization, Chairmen of the Standing Committees, Chairmen of the Occupational Councils, Founders, Life Members, Sustainers, Endowers and Delegates from State organizations, each State organization to be entitled to one delegate for every twenty-five members, whose names and addresses have been sent to Headquarters."

The Artist Is Grateful To 1848

By GEORGIA O'KEEFFE

(Editor's Note: Miss O'Keeffe is recognized as one of the leading painters in the world. She is one of the founders of the National Woman's Party.)

IN our country such a thing as women having Exhibitions, or being seriously recognized in Art, was unthinkable and unheard of, as far as I know—in 1848.

The gradual growth of freedom for women, the feeling of woman as a person, was started to a great extent by the women of 1848. Their great demand for the recognition of women's capacities, their work for all women, put something into the air—something that the continued work for Suffrage carried on—from which all women were benefited more than we will probably ever realize.

Art is a special thing, and to persevere in it requires independence of mind and a belief in what one must say. Occasionally, a more favored woman has figured in the Arts, but women have had a particularly hard time in the serious pursuit of the fine arts. Few names of women stand out in painting.

A determined writer could, if she had to, write her novel at night, anywhere—any time, even if her pencil and paper had to be hidden from those who objected to a woman's writing. But painting takes space and long unbroken periods of daylight time. These conditions a woman artist could rarely get for herself. Woman's work in the home took the daylight time that would have gone into painting.

Woman in the past was surrounded by discouragements little thought of today, although she still faces them to a lesser extent. My mother often told me how much she wanted to be a doctor, and she would have probably been a good one—but such a thing wasn't done very much in her time. I came along and wanted to be a painter—and no one said I couldn't, until I began to exhibit seriously.

I remember my first shock. I was a student in art school when Eugene Speicher wanted me to pose for the picture of me at 19—which was shown in Life magazine a few weeks ago. I didn't want to pose because it took so much time, and I said to him: "I have to work, too." I recall his answer so well. He said: "Oh, it doesn't matter whether you work or not, you'll probably get married or be teaching art in some girls' school anyway, and I'm going to be a great artist." That was the way they felt about the girls. But even so, the way was free enough, so that I went on with my business of wanting to paint, and it was all right until I began having Exhibitions.

At the time of my first exhibition I was really startled by hearing the men say that it wasn't important, because a woman couldn't paint anyway. And I can well remember when pictures were being selected, that Alfred Stieglitz, who presented my work, was often told that they didn't want any women in the show. Steiglitz would refuse to show the men's pictures unless mine went, too. *He took his stand for the pictures.* As a pioneer photographer he had been interested in the photography of Mrs. Cameron and Gertrude Kasebier and it was perfectly obvious that these women were extraordinary.

When Thomas Craven wrote his book called "Men of Art," in 1931, I was the only woman he mentioned. When the Museum of Modern Art had its first show of 17 Americans, its second exhibition, I was the only woman invited to the Exhibit. But as I walked through the Whitney Gallery in New York recently and saw the paintings exhibited there this fall, when I looked to see who had painted the paintings that interested me most, I was astonished to see more women's names than men's. This is something new in Art. I am sorry I cannot say that women have yet made a significant contribution to art, but this does not mean that they cannot, if not discouraged.

I feel that if woman suffrage had been won before I was five years old, I would certainly have been interested in politics as my brother was. As it was, it wasn't my world and I made no attempt to be interested. So, with the Arts, and with all fields for women. Until recently, the struggle was made too hard. I should mention that there were great early women caligraphers and painters in China whose paintings have been carried down through the ages. Murasaki—a woman of the Court of Japan in the 11th Century—wrote what is considered by many the first novel in the world. Her book, "Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan," is a long, extensive book, certainly one of the world's literary treasures.

It is surprising after you have spent all your years studying, to be told by the painters that, of course, you can't paint because you are a woman, even though you have been one of the best in any class you ever entered. You have to be tough to take it, and very interested in what you are doing, to know that you can do it anyway—no matter what anyone says.

The artist's nature is apt to be frail. I have seen the best men painters of my generation given a chance to develop that they would not have had if someone with great insight and wisdom had not taken care of them, been interested in them, shown their work, and left them free to paint. When women were protected, it was not usually for their work.

In my part of New Mexico, where I spend three-quarters of the year, among the Spanish and Indian natives, there is complete acceptance of the worth of a woman's work. They take a large part in the building of the adobe houses. The man mixes the mud and brings it to the woman. The woman puts it on the wall. The whole outside of every house is rubbed over by a woman's hand, even to the garden wall. She takes the greatest pride in this work, which has been hers by inheritance for generations. Her standing as a person depends on how she does it. Everyone respects her care and willingness to work.

If, in our supposedly civilized world, no one thought that women could not paint, they might find out that they could.

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Join Hands For Victory Now

By PEARL M. SAYRE

Republican National Committeewoman for Oklahoma and Co-Chairman of the Congressional Committee, National Woman's Party

The Suffrage Amendment was made part of our National Constitution when only comparatively few women in our country had the right to vote through the action of their states. But finally the movement for women's enfranchisement became so strong that both parties took an active part in securing passage of the measure. It would be hard to say which Party deserved the most credit at the end; although Republican women rejoice in the fact that it was under a Republican Congress that victory came.

Now, we are approaching the moment when a second Amendment for the rights of women is to become a part of the Constitution. It seems very certain that this time also the Amendment to the Constitution on the rights of women will be put through by the combined action of the two Parties, since the platforms of both Parties are committed to the Amendment and the Party leaders are likewise committed.

As a Republican, I am particularly anxious that the women of our Party, constituting nearly half of the women voters of the United States in the last election, shall make certain that our Party give united support in both Houses of Congress to the Equal Rights Amendment so that we shall continue to be the Party that stands for the emancipation of all people.

As a Republican, I am proud to recall that this Amendment was first introduced in the Congress of the United States by Republicans — the Honorable Charles Curtis of Kansas in the Senate; the Honorable Daniel R. Anthony, nephew of the great Susan B. Anthony, in the House. The first political party ever to put an endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment in its platform was the Republican Party. This was in 1940. The first time the Equal Rights Amendment was ever approved by a Policy Committee of either Party was when the Republican Policy Committee of the Senate gave its approval in the last Congress. The first caucus of a political party ever to approve the Equal Rights Amendment was the Republican caucus of the Senate in the last Congress. The first National Chairman of a political party ever to endorse the Amendment was a Republican—the Honorable Harrison Spangler, then Chairman of the Republican National Committee. The only living ex-President of the United States, the distinguished Republican, Herbert Hoover, has given his support to the Amendment.

I am particularly gratified that all the Republican Committeewomen, to the best of my knowledge, are united in the support of the Amendment.

We are sometimes told that the women of this country do not want the Equal Rights Amendment. The best answer to this, it seems to me, is the fact that the organized women of both Parties make up more than half of our population and that they are committed to the support of the Amendment.

There are some things that Americans want to achieve now. We want to make this a land of equality and justice. To me, it is a great privilege and a duty to work to place the principle embodied in the Equal Rights Amendment in the Constitution of the United States.

Women Physicians And Equality For Women

By HELENA T. RATTERMAN, M. D.

Past President of American Medical Women's Association

Almost a hundred years ago, in 1849, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell stepped out of the patterned groove for women by becoming a graduate of a medical school and practicing medicine. She did this with dignity, intelligence and untiring perseverence, and thus lived up to the dictates of her conscience. She was the first woman physician, in modern times, in the whole world.

In the nearly one hundred years since 1849 many women have followed her example. And now women in professions, in business, in public life are not only accepted but are expected to be there. This tremendous change in the status of women we owe in large measure to the courageous women who opened the doors during the past hundred years.

Doctors are alive to national and international needs, and in their busy lives turn to the contemplation of the nation's and the world's troubles as well as their own immediate problems. In the crisis of World War II in order to have sufficient doctors to serve the armed forces it was found necessary to pass special legislation through Congress to make it legally possible for women doctors to enter the armed forces. For, believe it or not, the word "persons," as it appears in the Constitution, has been and is legally interpreted to mean only males.

The United Nations Bill of Rights declares for equality of status for all adult human beings, specifically naming women among those entitled to such equality. We as a Nation subscribe to this principle and carry it out in the conduct of our lives and our businesses. Yet we fail to write it into our Constitution for all the world to read. One Amendment to our Constitution, the Fourteenth, prohibits discrimination in rights because of race, according to the interpretation placed upon that Amendment by the courts. To bring the Constitution up to date, the prohibition of discrimination on the ground of "sex" should be added. The pending Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution will do just that. How can our country comfortably face the world when our practices and fine words are confounded by an uncorrected Constitutional discrepancy?

Prophylaxis is the watchword of modern medicine. So we doctors are quite naturally for a correction of this legal lapse in our Constitution. We feel that this correction in the Constitution is imperative for our economic health; it is imperative if our country is to stand before the world as an example. We as women must be honest in asserting ourselves by making our Constitution one that will give expression to the principle of equality of rights for women.

Memories Of A Pioneer Feminist

1848 --- 1948

As told to LUCY BRANHAM *by* ADELAIDE JOHNSON

Sculptor of the Monument to the Suffrage Pioneers in the National Capitol

I HAVE been associated with the movement to raise the status of women since about the time of the Civil War. I worked intimately with two of the great pioneers of the Equal Rights Movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. I was a friend of Elizabeth Blackwell, the pioneer woman physician. I knew and worked with Frances Willard, the founder of the Temperance Movement in this country, with May Wright Sewell, Alice Stone Blackwell, the editor for years of the Woman's Journal, Ida Husted Harper, Carrie Chapman Catt, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Rachel Foster Avery, Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont. All of these helped to build and carry forward the movement in our country for the emancipation of women. I did not know Lucretia Mott, but I knew her colleagues. I remember that Susan B. Anthony always said of Lucretia Mott: "She was the Mother of us all."

The resolutions and declarations for equality for women that are being passed today by the United Nations are, to me, the outgrowth of the Seneca Falls Equal Rights gathering of women and men held in 1848, and of the work carried on by their successors from 1848 until today.

Following the Civil War, when I first became an active worker for equality for women, I remember our eager hope of receiving suffrage as the Negroes received it after the Civil War. But the enfranchisement of American women did not come until 1920, seventy-two years after the first Equal Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, and years and years after the enfranchisement of the Negro man.

One of my most vivid memories is of the founding of the International Council of Women in 1888 in Washington by May Wright Sewell, Susan B. Anthony, Frances Willard, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others. This organization, designed to bring together the women of all countries who were dedicated to the cause of the advancement of women, is the oldest international body of women in the world. It has grown in influence until today it is, in my opinion, the leading international organization of women. As a Founding Member of the International Council, I am indeed pleased to live to see the great service this organization has rendered to the woman's cause.

I remember so well the heartbreaking struggles through three generations to win suffrage for women, state by state. I remember particularly campaigning with Susan B. Anthony and staying with her in Albany for months at a time when she was working with the New York legislature. I remember the great suffrage meetings in Chicago and elsewhere, where we had tremendous audiences of thousands of men and women.

I recall, after the passing of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and the other pioneers, the founding of the National Woman's Party (then called the Congressional Union for Woman's Suffrage) in Washington in 1913 to secure the Suffrage Amendment to the United States Constitution. I thought from the first that this was the only effective way to secure suffrage for American women.

I remember the historic day in 1920 when the Suffrage Amendment was added to the Constitution, whereby all women in our country were enfranchised. This was the work of many organizations, but especially of Alice Paul and the Woman's Party, for until shortly before the suffrage victory, the Woman's Party stood alone in demanding a constitutional Amendment enfranchising women.

I am happy that four of my statues are in the Woman's Party Headquarters in Washington; those of Lucretia Mott, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Belmont. After the suffrage victory, my monument of the three great suffrage pioneers, Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony, was placed in the crypt of the United States Capitol.

Women have made a great advance, on the statute books and otherwise, during my lifetime, but there is yet a great deal to be done. Women should be seated in equal numbers and with equal power in the councils of the Nations. This, I think, is our next task.

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Edith Houghton Hooker

Former National Chairman of National Woman's Party,
Editor of Equal Rights 1923-1936; Founder and Chairman of Maryland Branch 1914-1941.

By DORA G. OGLE

Edith Houghton Hooker, beloved leader of the woman movement in Maryland, and Chairman of the National Council of the National Woman's Party from 1925 to 1927, was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1878. She was a student at Bryn Mawr College, afterwards going to the Hopkins Medical School where she met and married in 1904 her instructor, Dr. Donald Russell Hooker.

In 1905-1906 Dr. and Mrs. Hooker studied Social Hygiene work in Berlin, Germany. The result was, soon after returning from their work abroad, they founded the St. George's Guild, a home for unmarried mothers and their infants.

Soon discovering that little could be done about the social evil and the double standard of morals until women were enfranchised and all the laws were made to apply alike to men and women, she organized in 1910 the Just Government League of Maryland and immediately began a demand for suffrage for Maryland women. In 1914 this organization amalgamated with the National Woman's Party. In the years that followed, Maryland women, led by Edith Hooker, staged pageants and parades, held street meetings and banquets to create public opinion and finally descended upon the State House at Annapolis to demand suffrage. Later on they carried their activities to the White House and the Capitol in Washington where, joining with other states, they made the demand to include women in the Federal Constitution.

Edith Hooker's civic activities were felt in many organizations in Maryland. She was a member of the Roland Park Club, Hamilton Street Club, Woman's Civic League, Social Service Club, Saturday Night Club, Business and Professional Women's Club, and American Association of University Women. She was one of the founders of the National Woman's Party and the World Woman's Party.

An indefatigable worker, besides her civic efforts she reared a family of three daughters, two sons, and three adopted children.

Her home was a gathering place for national and international feminists. Emmeline Pankhurst, Margaret Sanger, Charlotte Perkins Gilman and others gave courses of lectures while being entertained there. Scores of Maryland women were attracted to these meetings and the ranks of the Maryland Branch of the National Woman's Party grew accordingly.

She was the author of several books and numerous magazine articles. Among the best known are: "Life's Clinic," "The Laws of Sex", and "The Spirit of Christmas." Her greatest contribution was the weekly publication which she edited continuously for twenty-three years. In 1913 she started to publish the Maryland Suffrage News, a weekly whose editorial columns came to be an influence for progressive thinking thruout Maryland. She continued as editor of this weekly for ten years. By that time, suffrage had been granted to Maryland women by the Federal Government and so in 1923 she turned her editorial efforts and her funds into the fight of the National Woman's Party for the full equal rights program. At that time the Maryland Suffrage News ceased publication and Mrs. Hooker established EQUAL RIGHTS, as the official organ of the National Woman's Party and a successor to The Suffragist. She continued to edit this magazine until 1936.

Besides organizing the Just Government League and the Maryland Branch of the National Woman's Party, she also founded the Hampton Woodberry Neighborhood Association, the Progressive Club which obtained pensions for Maryland mothers, and the Carroll Mansion Recreation Center, the largest recreation center in Baltimore.

Mrs. Hooker was for many years Chairman of Finance of the National Woman's Party. Later she was elected to the Chairmanship of the National Council. As gifted in making public speeches as she was in writing brilliant editorials, she was a constant source of inspiration to her fellow workers and because of her unbounded energy and enthusiastic interest, Maryland was outstanding in the woman movement.

A quotation from her editorial "The International Movement" follows:

> "Enlightened womanhood sees the problem of internationalism with different eyes. The spirit of motherhood the world over is akin. What man has failed to accomplish, woman, the mother, may yet win. In this international feminist movement we see a new hope for humanity, a hope that peace on earth and good will among men may at last be established on this little world. It is our opportunity to participate in this worldwide movement, to lay the groundwork for an enduring civilization. It is a vision towards whose fulfillment we may well dedicate ourselves and all that we possess."

By ELIZABETH FORBES

In the spring of 1910 the town of Bel Air, Maryland, was talking about a "Votes for Women" meeting to be held at the hotel. There for the first time I saw Edith Houghton Hooker, young, her face beautiful with intelligence and filled with the passion of her conviction that women must break down all barriers that prevented their full participation in both political and economic affairs.

There is no forgetting her eloquence or her expressive hands, all part of the genius by which this burning love of hers for her sex was held like a torch to light others on the path she so devotedly followed.

In considering the many important accomplishments of her life (and there are not many steps in the history of the social progress of our State that were not evolved and helped by Donald and Edith Hooker), I sometimes think that her greatest service was in saving women from themselves, opening windows in their minds and freeing them from fears and inhibitions.

Like many other crusaders, Edith Hooker's formal religious life was negligible, but the love of God was such a living part of her that it expressed itself in an understanding and compassion for every one she came in contact with. Her infrequent anger was apt to be provoked by stupidity or injustice. Above all, she was gay and charming, with endless time and sympathy for those who were her co-workers in the feminist movement.

Her lasting monument is in the hundreds of lives enriched by her spirit, and in the thousands benefited by her ideals for community needs, made concrete by her generosity and hard work.

In Memory Of Edith Ainge

Former National Treasurer and Member of the National Council of the National Woman's Party

By EFFIE BURNS

IT isn't always that an outward beauty of countenance is an indication of a beautiful inward spirit, but in the case of lovely Edith Ainge, this was true. Her clear-cut, classical features, enhanced by that peach-bloom coloring, and that fine-textured skin which the benign English climate often bestows upon its favorites, gave the impression of a Burne-Jones painting, or of the beautiful Grecian women portrayed by Alma-Tadema.

But the memory of Edith Ainge lives not because of this classical mien, but for the spiritual qualities expressed in a generous giving of self for the welfare of others, for her devoted zeal in such service, for the self-sacrifice that counted no cost of her own time or personal interest, and which, throughout her life, carried forward, even during the years of a long illness, toward that goal to which her efforts were directed—the freeing of her sister women from barriers which prejudice and ignorance had set up in opposition to their economic and political welfare.

Upon coming to America, the Ainge family settled in Jamestown, New York. There, and during visits with Washington relatives, Edith in her later youth formed close and life-long friendships with Harriet Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Frederick Hazard, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Alice Paul, and other leaders in the work for woman suffrage. She became a member of various suffrage organizations, arranged public meetings, traveled to many towns, spreading the gospel of votes for women.

The year 1908 saw Buffalo's first suffrage convention, and from then on, the work in this part of the State became more and more active. In 1914, following the examples of Washington and New York City, Buffalo staged one of the great parades of that period, and Edith Ainge, who had helped to plan some of these previous pageants, brought a group from her section of the state to form one of the Buffalo divisions. It was at that time I first saw and admired her. In later years, I would sometimes meet her at the home of Margaret Fotheringham, where she loved to come for a visit, for these two former White House pickets had many interests in common.

Active suffrage work continued to increase, and enlisted many thousands in its cause, when again there loomed the threat of a collapse—an ominous portent, which could be discerned in the silence maintained by the press. Despite great meetings, the endorsements of national institutions, the educational pageants, the patient house-to-house canvasses which had obtained millions of signatures petitioning Congress, a conspiracy of silence could still defeat the cause to which so much effort had been given.

An alert group of Washington women, well-organized and prepared for any contingency, members of the National Woman's Party were determined to counteract any such possible maneuver, and Edith was one whose interest was soon enlisted in the next phase of the suffrage strategy.

She volunteered for picket duty at the White House in Washington, made speeches in the public parks, was seized by the police for defying city ordinances, sentenced in Police Court, sent to prison in the old District of Columbia jail where she then refused to eat the food of a government that could recognize its women citizens only as criminals.

Or, on other occasions, she held the fort at Headquarters when her fellow workers had gone forth to the same experience and had returned from prison wearied with the strain, depleted by hunger, and disheartened. At such times she watched over them, prepared nourishing food, and by her ministrations brought solace and comfort and a renewed enthusiasm.

The activities of these "militants" brought about an end to that silence which seemed to have been so carefully planned. The country was aroused at the treatment of its citizens, many of whom were members of some of its most famous, proud, and illustrious families. The demand for woman's enfranchisement gained such force that Congress in 1919 passed the Suffrage Amendment. The following year it was ratified by the necessary number of states and became a part of the National Constitution.

Then, this victory having been won, a new problem developed. Some of these newly enfranchised advocated making use of their recently acquired political power to obtain the enactment of legislation designed to "protect" wage-earning women.

Alice Paul's far-seeing policy did not accept this mistaken concept. Such a course, she pointed out, would serve, eventually, only to widen the breach between men and women in the economic world, and would form a new handicap for the woman worker. Edith Ainge again lent her aid to the effort made to bring this truth home to the unseeing ones. To the end of her life, she gave her service in the effort to secure the Equal Rights Amendment.

To those who witnessed these things, there arises a deep appreciation for the courage and acumen of those women who could view the far horizon and shape their course accordingly. She was one of these. Her strength of purpose never faltered, her courage did not wane. Yet she was a gentle spirit, calm and serene, and with a kindly sympathy that was as much a part of her, as were these sterner qualities.

She has left her impress upon the times in which she lived. She gave a lifelong service for what she deemed to be the simple elements of truth and justice. Her work lives after her; and if at times we may feel inclined to mourn the loss her passing means to us, may we not, in our remembrance of Edith Ainge, share the thought the poet here expresses for these others, who, like her, though in different ways, have left their goodly heritage to the world?

FOR THE MAKERS

Others who wept their passing in such words
As echo down the years, have given us
Phrases to voice our sorrow, and we cry
"Oh, weep for Adonais, he is dead!"
"The lute is broken," "Ended is the song."
"The makers are not spared," "The Abhorred shears
Have slit the thin spun life," while we forget
The answers that they found to grief and fear.
The voice of Adonais is not stilled,
Nor can it be until all music dies.
Each poet lives in his immortal lines,
And each succeeding singer shapes a song
That is far richer from this heritage.
O, never mourn the makers until time
Has scattered the last echo of their dream.

SARAH HAMMOND KELLY
in Educational Forum, May 1947.

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Equal Rights In The Western Hemisphere

(Continued from Page 44)

the long, warm afternoon, the Conference delegates listened attentively and closely followed what was said, the text of the speeches in Spanish, Portuguese, French and English having been placed on their desks.

When the Conference failed to recommend the adoption of the Treaty, Miss Paul, under whose general direction the National Woman's Party group had worked in Havana, suggested that an effort be made to secure the appointment by the Conference of a Commission of Women, having on it a woman from each of the 21 Republics, to study the legal status of women in the Americas. By unanimous vote of the Conference, this suggestion was carried out. A Commission, composed of seven women designated by the Pan American Union from different countries and eventually to consist of representatives of all of the Republics, was appointed. The Commission, when first set up, was headed by the Chairman of the International Relations Committee of the National Woman's Party.

Today, following the Bogota victory, we can agree with Victor Hugo that "The most wonderful thing in the world is an idea whose time has come."

EDITOR'S NOTE: Jane Norman Smith was Chairman of the National Woman's Party and head of its delegation to the Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana in 1928. This was the first time the National Woman's Party ever undertook any work outside of the United States. At this conference it proposed a treaty on equality of rights for women almost identical with the one adopted twenty years later at Bogotá, Colombia.

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